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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 23, 1850.

For the National Era. CHRISTMAS, OR THE GOOD FAIRY.

BY MRS. H. B. STOWE.

"Oh, dear! Christmas is coming in a fortnight and I have got to think up presents for everybody!" said young Ellen Stuart, as she leaned languidly back in her chair. "Dear me! it's so adious! Everybody has got everything that can

he thought of." Oh, no !" said her confidential adviser, Miss Lester, in a soothing tone. "You have means of buying everything you can fancy, and, when every shop and store is glittering with all manner of splendors, you cannot surely be at a loss."

Well, now, just listen. To begin with, there's mamma! what can I get for her? I have thought of ever so many things. She has three card cases, four gold thimbles, two or three gold chains, two writing desks of different patterns; and then, as | set to rings, brooches, boxes, and all other things, I should think she might be sick of the sight of them I am sure I am," said she, languidly gazing on her white and jewelled fingers.

This view of the case stemed rather putaling to the adviser, and there was silence for a few moments, when Space ...

And then there's cousins Ellen and Marysuppose they will be coming down on me with a whole load of presents; and Mrs. B. will send me something-she did last year; and then there's cousins William and Tom-I must get them something, and I would like to do it well enough if I only knew what to get!"

Well," said Eleanor's aunt, who had been sitting quietly rattling her knitting needles during this speech, "it's a pity that you had not such a subject to practice on as I was when I was a irl-presents did not fly about in those days as they do now. I remember when I was ten years old my father gave sister Mary and me a most marvellously ugly sugar dog for a Christmas gift, and we were perfectly delighted with it—the very idea of a present was so new to us."

"Dear aunt, how delighted I should be if I had any such fresh, unsophisticated body to get presents for! but to get and get for people that have more than they know what to do with now-to add pictures, books, and gilding, when the centre-tables are loaded with them now—and rings and real warm and heart-felt gladness through many lewels, when they are a perfect drug! I wish myself that I were not sick and sated and tired

with having everything in the world given me !" or " said her aunt, "if you really o want unsophisticated subjects to practice on, can put you in the way of it. I can show you more than one family to whom you might seem to he a very good fairy, and where such gifts as you could give with all case would seem like a magic

Why, that would really be worth while, aunt. "Look right across the way," said her aunt You see that building."

"That miserable combination of shanties

Well, I have several acquaintances there who have never been tired of Christmas gifts, or gifts of any other kind. I assure you, you could make uite a sensation over there.

"Well, who is there? Let us know !"

"Do you remember Owen, that used to make your shoes 7" "Yes, I remember something about him."

Well, he has fallen into a consumption, and cannot work any more, and he and his wife and three little children live in one of the rooms over " How no they get along ?"

"His wife takes in sewing sometimes, and some

times goes out washing. Poor Owen! I was over there vesterday; he looks thin and wistful, and his wife was saying that he was parched with constant fever, and had very little appetite. She had with great self-denial, and by restricting herself almost of necessary food, got him two or three oranges, and the poor fellow seemed so eager after " Poor fellow!" said Eleanor, involuntarily.

"Now, said her aunt, "suppose Owen's wife should get up on Christmas morning and find at

the door a couple of dozen of oranges and some of those nice white grapes, such as you had at your party last week, don't you think it would make a sensation ?" "Why, yes, I think very likely it might; but who else, aunt? You spoke of a great many." " Well, on the lower floor there is a neat little

room, that is always kept perfectly trim and tidy; it belongs to a young couple who have nothing beyond the husband's day wages to live on. They are, nevertheless, as cheerful and chipper as a couple of wrens, and she is up and down half a dozen times a day, to help poor Mrs. Owen. She has a baby of her own about five months old, and of course does all the cooking, washing, and ironing for herself and husband; and yet, when Mrs. Owen goes out to wash, she takes her baby and keeps it whole days for her."

I'm sure she deserves that the good fairies should smile on her," said Eleanor; "one baby exhausts my stock of virtue very rapidly."

"But you ought to see her baby," said aunt E, "so plump, so rosy, and good-natured, and always clean as a lily. This baby is a sort of household shrine; nothing is too sacred and too good for it; and Libelieve the little, thrifty woman feels only one temptation to be extravagant, and that is to get some ornaments to adorn this little Vi-

"Why, did she ever tell you so ?"

"No; but one day, when I was coming down stairs, the door of their room was partly open, and I saw a pedlar there with open box. John, the husband, was standing with a little purple cap on his hand, which he was regarding with mystified, admiring air, as if he didn't quite comprehend it, and trim little Mary gazing at it with longing

"I think we might get it," said John. Oh, no," said she, regretfully ; "yet I wish

we could, it's so pretty !"

Say no more, aunt. I see the good fairy mu pop a cap into the window on Christmas morning. Indeed, it shall be done. How they will wonder where it came from, and talk about it for months to come !"

"Well, then," continued her aunt, "in the next street to ours there is a miserable building, that looks as if it were just going to topple over; and away up in the third story, in a little room just under the eaved, live two poor, lonely old comen. They are both nearly on to ninety. I was in there day before yesterday. One of them is constantly confined to her bed with rheumatism; the other, weak and feeble, with failing sight and trembling hands, totters about, her only said Tom; do you know I do so languish for a

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Can't they do anything? Can't they knit?" said Eleanor. "You are young and strong, Eleanor, and have

quick eyes and nimble fingers; how long would it take you to knit a pair of stockings?"
"I?" said Eleanor. "What an idea! I never tried, but I think I could get a pair done in a "And if somebody gave you twenty-five cents

for them, and out of this you had to get food, and pay room rent, and buy coal for your fire, and oil for your lamp"-

"Stop, aunt, for pity's sake!"
"Well, I will stop, but they can't; they must
pay so much every month for that miserable shell
they live in, or be turned into the street. The meal and flour that some kind person sends goes off for them just as it does for others, and they

must get more or starve, and coal is now scarce and high priced?"
"Oh, aunt, I'm quite convinced, I'm sure

don't run me down and annihilate me with all these terrible realities. What shall I do to play good fairy to these poor old women?" "If you will give me full power, Eleanor, I will put up a basket to be sent to them, that will give them something to remember all winter."
"Oh, certainly I will. Let me see if I can't

think of something myself?"
"Well, Eleanor, suppose, then, some fifty or sixty years hence, if you were old, and your father, and mother, and aunts, and uncles, now so thick around you, laid cold and silent in so many graves-you have somehow got away off to a strange city, where you were never known-you live in a miserable garret, where snow blows at night through the cracks, and the fire is very apt to go out in the old cracked stove; you sit crouching over the dying embers the evening before Christmas—nobody to speak to you, nobody to care for you, except another poor old soul who lies moan-ing in the bed—now, what would you like to have

"Oh, aunt, what a dismal picture !"

"Oh, aunt, what a dismat picture!"

"And yet, Ella, all poor, forsaken old women are made of young girls, who expected it in their youth as little as you do, perhaps!"

"Say no more, aunt. I'll buy—let me see—a comfortable warm shawl for each of these noor women; and I'll send them—let me see—oh! some tea-nothing goes down with old women like tea; and I'll make John wheel some coal over to them; and, aunt, it would not be a very bad thought to send them a new stove. I remember, the other day, when mamma was pricing stoves, I saw some such nice ones for two or three dollars

"For a new hand, Ella, you work up the idea very well," said her aunt. "But how much ought I to give, for any one case, to these women, say? "How much did you give last year for any

single Christmas present?"
"Why, six or seven dollars, for some; those elegant souvenirs were seven dollars; that ring I

"And do you suppose Mrs. Bhappier for it?"

"No, really, I don't think she cared much about it; but I had to give her something, because she had sent me something the year before, and I did not want to send a paltry present to any one

Then, Ella, give ten to any poor, distressed, suffering creature who really needs it, and see in how many forms of good such a sum will appear. That one hard, cold, glittering diamond ring, that now cheers nobody, and means nothing, that you give because you must, and she takes because she a cold and cheerless dwelling, through many an

aching heart." "You are getting to be an orator, aunt; but don't you approve of Christmas presents, among ands and equals?"
Yes, indeed," said her aunt, fondly stroking

her head. "I have had some Christmas presents that did me a world of good—a little book mark, for instance, that a certain niece of mine worked for me, with wonderful secrecy, three years ago, when she was not a young lady with a purse full of money—that book mark was a true Christmas present; and my young couple across the way are plotting a profound surprise to each other on Christmas morning. John has contrived, by an hour of extra work every night, to lay by enough to get Mary a new calico dress; and she, poor soul, has bargained away the only thing in the jewelry line she ever possessed, to be laid out on

"I know, too, a washerwoman who has a poor, lame boy-a patient, gentle little fellow-who has lain quietly for weeks and months in his little crib, and his mother is going to give him a splendid Christmas present.

What is it, pray?" "A whole orange! Don't laugh. She will pay ten whole cents for it; for it shall be none of your common oranges, but a picked one of the very best going! She has put by the money, a cent at a time, for a whole month; and nobody knows which will be happiest in it, Willie or his mother. These are such Christmas presents as I like to think ofgifts coming from love, and tending to produce

love; these are the appropriate gifts of the day.
"But, don't you think that it's right for those who have money, to give expensive presents, supposing always, as you say, they are given from

"Sometimes, undoubtedly. The Saviour did not condemn her who broke an alabaster-box of ointment-very precious-simply as a proof of love, even although the suggestion was made, 'this might have been sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor? I have thought he would regard with sympathy the fond efforts which human love sometimes makes to express itself by gifts, the rarest and most costly. How I rejoiced with all my heart, when Charles Elton gave his poor mother that splendid Chinese shawl and gold watch—because I knew they came from the very fullness of his heart to a mother that he could not do too much for-a mother that has done and suffered everything for him. In some such cases when resources are ample, a costly gift seems to have a graceful appropriateness; but I cannot approve of it, if it exhausts all the means of doing for the poor; it is better, then, to give a simple of fering, and to do something for those who really

Eleanor looked thoughtful; her aunt laid down her knitting, and said, in a tone of gentle serious

"Whose birth does Christmas commemorate,

" Our Saviour's, certainly, aunt," "Yes," said her aunt. "And when and how was he born? in a stable! laid in a manger; thus born, that in all ages he might be known as the brother and friend of the poor. And surely it seems but appropriate to commemorate His birth-day by an especial remembrance of the lowly, the poor, the outcast, and distressed; and if Christ the poor, the outcast, and distressed; and if Christ should come back to our city on a Christmas day, where should we think it most appropriate to his character to find him? Would he be carrying splendid gifts to splendid dwellings, or would he be gliding about in the cheerless haunts of the late, the poor, the forsaken, and the sorrow

And here the conversation ended.

"What sort of Christmas presents is Ella buying?" said cousin Tom, as the waiter handed in a portentous-looking package, which had been

"Let's open it," said saucy Will. "Upon my word, two great gray blanket shawls! These must be for you and me, Tom! And what's this? A great bolt of cotton flannel and gray yarn stockings!"

The door bell rang again, and the waiter brought in another bulky parcel, and deposited it on the marble-topped centre table. "What's here?" said Will, cutting the cord.

"What's here?" said Will, cutting the cord.
"Whew! a perfect nest of packages! colong tea!
oranges! grapes! white sugar! Bless me, Ella
must be going to housekeeping!"
"Or going crazy!" said Tom; "and on my
word," said he, looking out of the window, "there's a drayman ringing at our door, with a stove, with a tea-kettle set in the top of it!"

"Ella's cook stove, of course," said Will; and just at this moment the young lady entered, with her purse hanging gracefully over her hand.

"Now, boys, you are too bad!" she exclaimed, as each of the mischievous youngsters were gravely marching up and down, attired in a gray shaw!

"Didn't you get them for us? We thought ou did," said both. Ella, I want some of that cotton flannel, to

make me a pair of pantaloons," said Tom.
"I say, Ella," said Will, "when are you going

head gravely.

head gravely.

"Come, you saucy boys," said aunt E—, entering briskly, "what are you teasing Ella for?"

"Why, do see this lot of things, aunt? What in the world is Ella going to do with them?"

"Oh! I know!"
"You know; then I can guess, aunt, it is some of your charitable works. You are going to make a juvenile Lady Bountiful of El, eh?"
Ella, who had colored to the roots of her hair at the expose of her very unfashionable Christ-mas preparations, now took heart, and bestowed a very gentle and salutary little cuff on the saucy head that still wore the purple cap, and then

hastened to gather up her various purchases. 'Laugh away," said she, gaily; "and a good many others will laugh, too, over these things. I got them to make people laugh—people that are not in the habit of laughing!"

"Well, well, I see into it," said Will; "and I tell you I think right well of the idea, too. There are worlds of money wasted at this time of the year, in getting things that nebody wants, and ices and of law, as well well as the said of law, as well as the said of law as well as the law as well as the said of law as well as the sa nobody cares for after they are got; and I am glad, for my part, that you are going to get up a variety in this line; in fact, I should like to give you one of these stray leaves to help on," said he, dropping a \$10 note into her paper. I like to encourage girls to think of something besides breast-pins and sugar candy."

But our story spins on too long. If anybody wants to see the results of Ella's first attempts at good fairyism, they can call at the doors of two or three old buildings on Christmas morning, and they shall hear all about it.

OUR DOMESLIC POLICY.

SPEECH OF HON. J. R. GIDDINGS, OF OHIO,

Beforence of the President Massage made, December 9, 1850, in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union.

Mis. Crippings gaid that from the commend ment of the Government, it had been the practice to discuss the political character of the President's Message, on motion to refer it to the several appropriate committees.

I am (said he) the more anxious to avail myself

of the present occasion to speak of that portion which relates to our domestic policy, in conse-quence of the rumors which inform us that the quence of the rumors which inform us that the present Fugitive Law is not to be repealed or discussed at this session of Congress. That portion of the Message which relates to our domestic policy will be read with great interest throughout the country; and while I agree with a portion of the Message, there are embraced in it some matters which I am unwilling should go to the country tacitly endorsed by my silence.

For the frankness and candor with which the President avows his positions upon the most interesting questions now agitating the public mind.

eresting questions now agitating the public mind. I tender him my thanks. It was due to himself. to his political friends, and to the country, that his views on these questions should be distinctly avowed; that the nation should understand distinctly whether he is for or against this Fugitive Law, now so odious throughout the free States. Before I go farther, I wish to say, that I heartily approve the doctrine which the President lays down respecting the exercise of his veto power. I regard it as the doctrine of the Constitution. It

is true, however, that it overthrows and wholly discards the avowed policy of the party which elected him. That party avowed its doctrine to approval was clearly unconstitutional.

This doctrine the President repudiates, goes as far in the support of that prerogative as Jackson, or Tyler, or Polk. I approve this inde-

endence, this casting saids the trammels of party am now curious to see how many of those friends will turn round and go with the President in this change of doctrine.

But, by looking at the latter part of the Message, it becomes evident that the President intends the country shall understand that he will veto any bill for the repeal of this Fugitive Law

To do that, while hiding to the doctrines on which he was elected, would have been palpably nconsistent. In order, therefore, to make a show of consistency, he must first repudiate this impor-tant dectrine of his party. As to the morality of this deception, I forbear to make any remarks.

The boldness with which the President avows his friendship to the Fugitive Law, is not only commendable, but should entitle him to the thanks of the whole North, as well as of the whole South.

was found north of Mason and Dixon's line only three Whigs in this body who possessed the moral courage to meet the odium of voting for its pas-From the day of that vote, until the readsage. From the day of that vote, until the read-ing of this Message, the Whig press of the North, with nearly unanimous voice, repeated and re-iterated this fact, in order to exonerate their party from the odium of that measure, and to place the responsibility of its enactments upon their political opponents. The Message meets and exposes this unmanly subterfuge, and boldly defies the sir, may prove inconvenient to the younger members of the party-to those who have had but little experience; but to those who have been ac-

political summersets must have become familiar. Most of our Whig editors of the North have assured their readers that the feelings, and con-science, and judgment of the President were opposed to this Fugitive Law. This Message will teach them that he thinks his own thoughts, and speaks his own wishes, and acts upon his own judgment; and that it is for them to turn round and swallow their words, and go in for a continu-ance of this law, which they have so loudly depassage of this Law, prior to his election in 1848, how many votes, think you, he would have re-ceived in the free States? I think they would

have been few. At that time, he was represented as a friend of Freedom, a supporter of Northern as a friend of Freedom, a supporter of Northern rights, and devoted to the Cause of Humanity Upon these principles he was sustained in the North. But no sooner were the clods adjusted upon the grave of his predecessor, than we were informed that he had abandoned every doctrine in relation to Slavery which his party had maintained pending his election. He adopted the entire programme of measures announced in the Senate by the present Secretary of State, on the 7th of March last. His influence was exerted for the delivery of some fifty thousand square miles of free territory to Texas and to Slavery—to pay Texas ten million dollars, to hire her to abpay Texas ten million dollars, to hire her to ab-stain from driving our army from our western territory, and from dissolving the Union. He was in favor of the passage of laws to organize Gov-ernments in our Territories, without excluding

Chair, who so unceremoniously cast aside and re-pudiated the important pledges of his friends and his party. No public man of high standing, from the free States, has so suddenly and so boldly abjured the Cause of Freedom, and, before the world, pledged fealty to the Slave power, saving and excepting his Secretary of State, whose coun-

sels he appears to have adopted. But in this boldness, the manly frankness with which the President announces this change of which the President announces this change of position, and tacitly calls upon his former friends to follow him, may teach us the propriety of hereafter understanding the principles of our Presidential candidates before we vote for them, rather than undergo the mortification of those party changes and countermarchings. The public will watch with much interest to see how many of his vote of cineds will change their position, in order

new stove with a tea-kettle in the top, to heat a fellow's shaving water!" the Constitution has clearly and unequivocally free colored citizens of New England, and indeed left to the exclusive authority of the States." feel colored citizens of New England, and indeed of nearly all the free States, seized, imprisoned, and sold into bondage, by Southern men. He is aware that hundreds and perhaps thousands of staving off the brown paper, developed a jaunty little purple velvet cap, with silver tassels.

"My smoking cap! as I live," said he; "only I shall have to wear it on my thumb, instead of my head—too small entirely," said he, shaking his agents of Massachusetts driven by mob violence from South Carolina and Louisiana, when sent from South Carolina and Louisians, when sent gittee Law, to interfere with it. The slavery of there to sustain the legal rights of the citizens of that State now held in slavery. He knew that no Northern State nor individual could rescue down or abolish it. If she sees fit to abolish it, those citizens from the chains of servitude. Upon outrages, more aggravated than any that have ever occurred under this Government, he makes no comment. Sir, the House and the country must see that the only sympathy exhibited in the Message is for Slavery—he has none for Freedom. He recommends us not to repeal the Fugitive Law, but recommends no law to sustain the liberties of our own people, or to redeem those freemen who mourn in Southern bondage; still he assures us that, "in our domestic policy, the Constitution informed. For the hundredth time I repeat that shall be his guide," and that "he regards all its provisions as equally binding." That this declaramore power to interfere with the abovery of the tion is entirely erroneous is too obvious to require

Mr. Chairman, our opposition to the Fugitive Law is based upon the soundest principles of ethics and of law, as well as the dictates of the com-mon sense of mankind. While the Southern men are thus seizing Northern freemen, enslaving and brutalizing them, they turn round and call on us to leave our employments, give chase, and arrest and return their fugitive slaves. While violating our National Compact in its most vital features, they ask us not merely to observe and keep our stipulations, but to go far beyond our covenants to uphold their slavery. Now, sir, these Southern men have no claim whatever on us to observe the compact, while they disregard and trample upon it. Such are the dictates of Law, and of Justice, and of the Common Sense of Mankind. A compliance with such demand would constitute us the mere subsidiaries, the appendages, of Southern slavery. This feeling has thus far been suppressed by our intelligent people, hoping that Congress would relieve them from the position in which they have fong been placed. If this Fagitive Law be kept in force, and Congress shall exert its power and influence to degrade our reintelligent people, hoping that Congress would relieve them from the position in which they have long been placed. If this Fagitive Law be kept in force, and Congress shall exert its power and influence to degrade and predict the consequences. Lawy may be read in our past history. One thing may be regarded as admitted truth—while Ohio Freemen are held in Southern chains, the people of the northern por-

Southern chains, the people of the northern por-tion of that State will not arrest, nor return, fugiand the West, may understand, that, while the inhabitants of our State shall be held in slavery, (and there are many there,) few, very few, slaves will return to bondage from that section of coun-

try where I reside.

Sir, suppose a man born among us, educated in our schools, baptised in our churches, professing our religion, but who has been seized and held in Southern slavery, should make his escape, and revisit the scenes of his birth and childhood; but, while quietly and peaceably among us, the baying of human bloodhounds should be heard upon his track, and the whole army of slave-catchers, including certain high dignituries who procured the passage of the Fugitive Law, should be seen coming in hot pursuit, with handcuffs, and chains, and fetters, prepared and clanking in their hands do you, sir, think they would take him, and fetter him, in the presence of our people, and drag him back to a land of sighs and tears? Sir, if the President, or members of this body, or that class of clergymen who are preaching that obedience to this law is a religious duty, believe this can be done, they had better study the character of our population more thoroughly.

Under that law, such cases may frequently ocof Mason and Dixon's line, where such a freeman can be taken back to a land of whips and chains, But the President is not satisfied with quoting

the words of the Constitution; he closes the par agraph with the following sentence: You, gentlemen, and the country, may be as

sured, that to the utmost of my ability, and to the extent of the power vested in me, I shall at all times, and in all places, take care that the laws be faithfully exe-This language is understood by the House

by the country. No one can mistake its import. It is the language of menace—of intimidation. He distinctly avows that, "to the extent of the power vested in him, he will see" this infamous law executed. The power of the army and the navy is vested in the President. This power he assures us will be used to shoot down Northern freemen, ommendable, but should entitle him to the thanks if the whole North, as well as of the whole South. When the vote was taken upon that bill, there has found north of Mason and Dixon's line only stree Whigs in this body who possessed the moral business to meet the edium of voting for its pass. been more destructive to his influence. taunting menace should never have been address ed to freemen-to men who understand the Constitution and know their rights. I have shown some reasons why our people of Northern Ohio will not obey that law. The President may speak to them of the "power vested in him" of the army and navy; and he may tell them that he will use the whole military power of the nation at all times and in all places to enforce this detestable odium attached to this measure. A short time all times and in all places to enforce this detestable will determine how many Northern Whigs will law; but, sir, they will harl back defiance both now face about at the bidding of the Executive, and share with him the unenvisible fame of sustaining and continuing an enactment which is a libel upon all that is called Law. These changes, may drench our free land with blood; he may entitle himself to the appellation of a second "HAYNAU;" but he will never compel them to obey They will govern themselves. They every constitutional enactment; but ed to follow the leaders of that party, these discussed to follow the leaders of that party, these discussed in the summersets must have become familiar. I speak what I feel before God and man. I speak what every enlightened statesman must feel and admit, when I say that no free, enlightened, and independent people ever was, or ever will be, gov-erned by the bayonet and the sword. No, sir. with unhesitating confidence, our prople will never be compelled by the bayonet or the cannon, or in any anner, to lend any aid or assistance in executounced, or they will be read out of the party.

Sir, had the President avowed his desire for the

The President should have learned ere this that public sentiment, with an enlightened and pathat he himself is but the creature of the people's will—their servant—elected to execute their purwill—their servant—elected to execute their pur-poses. In the enactment of this law, their feelings were not consulted, their honor was disre-garded, and their wishes were treated with scorn. Sir, a large portion of the Northern people were not represented in this body at the passage of that in framing the Constitution, and who also voted law. Their servants fled from this Hall, and left for that law. They understood their constituthe interests, the rights, and the honor of their constituents to be disposed of by abrebalders and their obsequious allies. This law "was conceived in sin," and literally "brought forth in iniquity." professes to d inform them distinctly that the law counct and will no objection the professes. not be enforced. Our people, sir, know what con-stitutes law. This enactment I call a law merely for convenience, because our language furnishes no proper term in which to characterize it. It has the form, but is entirely destitute of the spirit—the essence of law. It commands the per-petration of crimes, which no human enactment petration of crimes, which no human ensement can justify. In passing it, Congress overstepped the limits of civil government, and attempted to usurp powers which belong only to God. In this attempt to involve our people in crimes forbidden by inspiration, by every impulse of humanity, and to command one portion of the people to wage a war upon another, Congress was guilty of tyranny unexampled. This enactment is beyond the power, outside of the duties, of human government; it imposes no obligation to commit the crimes it commands, it can justify no one for committing them. For this reason, the people will not obey it. Nor is this doctrine new, either in theory or in practice. In every State of the which the President announces this change of position, and tacitly calls upon his former friends to follow him, may teach us the propriety of here after understanding the principles of our Presidential candidates before we vote for them, rather than undergo the mortification of those party changes and countermarchings. The public will party friends will change their position, in order to stand with him in favor of this Fugitive Law, and of Slavery.

The President informs us that the Constitution has made it his duty to "take care that the laws be has seen the mails violated in South Carolina and other States, robbed of newspapers which do not suit the taste of their people, and the laws of Congress held in contempt and trampled upon. This is done by his own officers, who hold their appointments at his will; but, sir, has he ousted such men from office? We have yet to learn that he has even reproved them, much less has he hint-

has no legitimate powers to interfere. We, sir, of the North, will not be constrained, even by your Fuwe have no power to interfere to sustain it.

I have often defined the views of anti-slavery

men and of Free-Soilers on this subject—others have often done it; yet we are misapprehended and constantly misrepresented. That clause of the Message now under consideration was intended to impute to us a purpose, a desire, to interfere with Southern slavery. That idea, false and unfounded, has been asserted and reiterated for law, for the Constitution and this law are antago-Southern States than they have with the seridom of the Constitution until 1841, never was this doc-of Russia. The slave States hold their " peculiar | trine of " non-interference between master and institution" as independently of this Government slave" denied by the Executive. At that time, the as Russia holds her serfs. Again, sir, this Government present Secretary of State, in a correspondence ernment possesses no more right to involve the with our Minister at London, substantially people of the North in the support of Southern avowed it to be the duty of this Government to slavery, than it has to involve us in the support of Russian serfdom. Congress possesses no more power nor right to make us the catchers of Southern slaves, than of Russian serfs.

These were the views and feelings of those who hunters.

Nothing could have been further from the

thoughts of those who framed the Constitution In that Convention, Mr. Gouverneur Morris said So say I, and so say our people of the We never will concur in upholding that institution. Mr. Morris added : " It is a nefarious It was the curse of Heaven upon the

have nothing to do with slavery in the States, we should be careful to lend no sanction to it." Sir, tive slaves. I speak for no other portion of the country. But the South and the North, the East gitive law compel us to sanction it. Mr. Dickinson "thought it a proper subject for the General Government to interfere with, as it affected our na-

tional happiness." But Southern members resisted this proposition. They would give to the Federal Government no powers to interfere with slavery, for any purpose.

But I desire to come more directly to the clause relating to fugitive slaves. When the committee reported the draft of a Constitution, it contained the clause for the arrest and return of fagitives oppressed, degraded slave, whose fiesh has often from justice, as it now stands. They were to be quivered under the lash of his inhuman owner, delivered up by the Executive of the State to which they should flee; and this was to be done, also, at the expense of such State. While this report was under consideration, Messrs. Butler this worse than barbarous law sends the officers and Pinckney of South Carolina moved to amend of Government to chase him down-to carry him

oblige the Executive to do it at the public expense." Mr. Sherman of Connecticut "saw no more Mr. Sherman of Connecticut "saw no more propriety in the public seizing and surrendering a fugitive slave or servant than a horse." And on a fugitive slave or servant than a horse." And on this law, the President tells us, is the only sure to say to the House, that from this time we all these suggestions Mr. Butler withdrew his proposition. These facts were recorded by Mr. Madosition. These facts were recorded by Mr. Madon; and no stronger evidence could have been tution to save the freemen of the North from all expense, and guilt, and disgrace, of arresting fu-gitive slaves. The clause for the return of fugigitive slaves. In a clause for the return of rugitive slaves, as it now stands, was subsequently adopted, with the concurrence of Mr. Wilson and of Mr. Sherman. It provides, that the State to which the slave flees shall not, by any law or regulation, release him from labor. "Non-interference," between the master and slave, was their interior their their alterior design. The last many intention, their ulterior design. The last mem-ber of the sentence says of the slave, he "shall be delivered up on claim of the person to whom such service or labor may be due." This language has been understood by some as rendering action necessary on the part of the people of the State to which the slave may have fled. This construction is opposed to the whole spirit of the Constitution exprosed to the whole spirit of the Constitution Every reader will see at once that such obligation is not imposed upon the Governor, nor upon the people of the State, nor upon any individual. The Supreme Court has given a construction to this language which is in accordance with the in-

we deliver up our friends to the civil officer. are bound to permit the master to arrest and carry back the slave, in the same manner that we permit the civil officer to seize our friends, under process, And such was the law of 1793. It followed the And such was the law of 1793. It followed the Constitution. It saved the master from interruption while pursuing his slave. It provided fines and penalties against any person who, disobeying the constitutional compact, should secrete or defend or rescue the slave. There the law of 1793 stopped. It went no farther. It gave the master no process under the seal of your courts, by which to arrest his slave. It commanded no officer of this Government to aid the master in making such arrest. No powers of this Government were prostituted to such degrading purposes. "Non-inter-ference" between the master and slave was the rule by which that whole law was framed. And it is to the honor of the Supreme Court that, in their construction of the Constitution and of the law, they have carried out this view. They have adopted the very idea of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Sherman. They declare the right of the master to recapture his slave to be the same as his right to take his property which strays into a free State. They construe our duties, to deliver up the fugitive slave, to be the same as to deliver up the stray

tention and object of the framers of the Constitu

tion. We are to deliver up the fugitive slave as

horse. If the horse or the slave come among us, we permit the owner or master to take him. But in neither case can the owner or master call on us to eatch the slave or the horse. .

Neither the law of 1793, nor the Constitution. contemplated the organization of Northern free men into a constabulary force for catching ne-groes. Nor did it give the master a guard and assistance to carry back his slave at the expense of the nation. Such provisions could never have been approved by Washington, who signed the law of 1793, nor by his associates who had aided in framing the Constitution, and who also voted

All who read this message must only interference with slavery which the President professes to deprecate, is that which tends to loosen the chains of bondage; he appears to have no objection to that interference which rivets them closer. Could be have believed that the intelligent freemen of the North would fail to detect the palpable contradiction between that por-tion of the Message which deprecates interference with slavery, and that which urges the continu-ance of this law, which was enacted for the very purpose of interfering in support of that institu-

and palpable than that which makes it the duty of the deputy marshal or commissioner, under a heavy penalty, to exert his utmost powers to ar-rest the fugitive? Which gives him authority to call the whole power of the State to assist him call the whole power of the State to assist him?
Which "commands all good citizens to oid and assist in the prompt" arrest and return of the trembling slave? This interference the President approves. It rivets eighter the chains of bondage, while we are all aware that he disapproved our efforts to exclude slavery from the free territory of New Mexico. But this law goes farther; it not only attempts to strike down God's law, which commands us "to feed the hungry," but it attempts to convert every freeman of the North into a savage. If a furtitive from oppression reaches my door numbed with cold, fainting, and weary, see and in distress, and asks to warm himself by my fire, this law interferes, and forbids me, under heavy pains and penalties, to comply with his request. If I obey the law, I must drive him from my door to perish with hunger and cold. If I receive him to my habitation, warm him by my fire—if I feed

and firmly resist" the interference which this law

slaveholders and doughfaces can repeal or nullify. I speak for no one but myself and constituents; others will choose whether to obey God or the oppressors of mankind; but as for us, we will obey that higher law of kindness, benevolence, and humanity, which was implanted in the breast of feel that he did right—that we would have done the every human being, and written upon the hearts same thing had we been in his situation. every human being, and written upon the hearts and consciences of mankind, by the finger of our

Creator. Mr. Chairman, the doctrine of "Non-Inter-ference with Slavery," laid down by the President, is at war with every provision of this fugi-tive law. If we maintain that doctrine, this law nisms-at war with each other. If we adhere to one, we must discard the other. My constituents dren, and becoming intelligent and useful members will maintain the Constitution, while they will of community. Many of them belonged to our vahold this law in contempt. Sir, from the adoption protect Southern slave-dealers while pursuing homes, their friends, their schools and churches their vocation. This dootrine, coming from a their lands, and their flocks and herds; to sepa Massachusetts man, inspired his successor (Mr. Upshur) to maintain the same principles, while advocating the annexation of Texas in 1843. Up framed the Constitution. They never dreamed of making us the catchpolls for Southern slave-master and slave? was the doctrine of the North master and slave" was the doctrine of the North | equalled in the history of civilized legislation. and of the South, of Whigs and of Democrats.
It is true that our slaveholding Presidents at

times lent their powers silently to uphold slavery; any moral duty to obey it? Will preachers of but no officer of Government ever avoned it the righteousness tell them to submit, to let the slave duty of Congress, or the Executive, thus to interfere, until the present Secretary of State put forth that construction in 1841. I repeat that, of wretchedness? Will such preachers advise from the day of adopting the Constitution until Λ. D. 1841, the doctrine of "non-interference the hands of slave-hunters, and submit to a life of

boldly and publicly demanded that the powers and energies of this Government should be prostituted to the support of slavery. The President and his Cabinet may adopt this new theory—but the People of the North will repudiate it.

The Message further says: "The law is the only sure protection of the meak, and the only efficient restraint upon the strong." This, sir, is said with di-

rect reference to this fugitive slave law, to induce the People to execute it. It would seem that the President intended to see how far he could impose upon the intelligence of the public. Sir, what protection does this law lend to the poor, weak, and Pinckney of South Carolina moved to amend it so as to "require fuguives, slaves, and servants, to be delivered up like criminals."

Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania said "This would oblige the Executive to do it at the public expense."

while the whole power of the Government under dent intend to insult our intelligence? Or did

upon this barbarous law? Sir, there is not a man in this body, there is not an intelligent man in the free States, but knows, if he delivers a fugitive into the custody of his pursuers, that he will be carried back and sold to the far South; and, ordinarily, his life will be eacrificed in five years, if employed on the sugar plantations, and in seven years on the cotton plantations. The men of the North look upon this as murder, and would as soon turn out and cut the throat of the defenceless negro as to send him back to be scourged to death. As soon would they do this as comply with a law which violates every principle of humanity, and consigns the fugitive to a lingering death by a slow torture of five or seven years. The common law holds him who aids in a murder as guilty as he who strikes the knife to the heart of the victim. Under our law, a man is hanged if he fails to prevent a murder when it is plainly within his power to do so. Such a man is held guilty of the act, and he is hanged accordingly.

And will any one suppose that he who assists in arresting and sending a fugitive slave to tor-ture and death, will be less guilty than he under

whose lash the victim expires?
Sir, I have compared this capture of a fugitive
to a common murder. In doing that I do injustice
to the common murderer. To capture a slave and send him to the South to die under a torture of five years, is far more criminal than ordinary mur-

the crime of murder.
Sir, we will not commit this crime. Let me say to the President, no power of Government car compel us to involve ourselves in such guilt. No The freemen of Ohio will never turn out to chase the panting fugitive—they will never be meta-morphosed into bloodhounds, to track him to his hiding-place, and seize and drag him out, and de-liver him to his tormentors. They may be shot down; the cannon and bayonet and sword may do their work upon them; they may drown the fugitives in the blood of freemen; but never will eemen stoop to the degradation of catching

Let no man tell me there is not a higher law than this fugitive bill. We feel there is a law of right, a law of justice, of freedom, implanted in the breast of every intelligent human being, that bids him look with scorn upon this miscalled law

Sir, I was about to make some comparisons, but perhaps they may be regarded as indelicate. I, however, shall not besitate to speak truth. Dur-ing last summer, two distinguished gentlemen of the same name occupied much of the public atten-tion. One was said to have committed murder, and the other to have proqured the passage of this law. One was hanged for his crime; the other, for his efforts taken to the Executive Cabinet. his efforts taken to the Executive Cabinet One destroyed the life of an individual, the other contributed his influence for the passage of this law, which, if executed, must consign hundreds, perhaps thousands, to premature graves. I, sir, cannot speak for others; but for myself, I would rather meet my final Judge with the guilt of him who has gone to his last account resting upon my soul, than that of him who sits in yonder Cabinet. Sir, do you, or does any one, conceive that it is less criminal to take the life of one of those fugi-tives than it would be to slay any other individual? Is not he who gives his voice and influence from yonder Cabinet, for the murder of those people, as guilty as he would be to lend his voice and influ-ence for the murder of others? Shall men in high stations, from ambitious, from corrupt mo-tives, lend themselves to the degradation, the destruction, of hundreds, nay, thousands, of human beings, and yet be shielded from animadversion by their political position? Has it come to this, that place and power are to be regarded as exempting their occupants from moral guilt, from responsibility both here and hereafter?

An idea appears to exist in some minds, that obedience to an act of Congress, however criminal that act may be, cannot involve the person who thus obeys the law in any moral guilt. In other words, they appear to think that if under this Fugitive Law they drive the famishing slave from Fugitive Law they drive the famishing slave from There is something pleasing and solemn in the recollection of that Union—in the history of its recollection of that Union—in the history of its recollection of that Union—in the history of its recollection. their doors to perish with cold and hunger, or if they seize him, place the fetters upon his limbs, and drag him to bondage to be massacred under the lash, to be murdered by slow torture, they will, when called to their final account, plead this

and drag him to bondage to be massacred under the lash, to be murdered by slow torture, they will, when called to their final account, plead this cantiment in bar of Omniferent Justice.

That kind of theology I leave to those teachers who preach sermons and write pamphlets and newspaper essays in defence of this law—to those divines who hold that me, the members of Congress, possess the power to step between God and devastation, raping and the difficulties and dangers which surrounded it. But it is now nearly half a century in the commercial advantages induced us to abandon it, and form a new one with Louisiana. Then, sir, we abandoned it, and took Florida to our embrace. Then, to extend and perpetuate slavery, we abandoned that Union, and brought in slave-holding Texas, assuming her war, and carrying devastation, raping and the difficulties and dangers which surrounded it. But it is now nearly half a century in the last time of the Union ceased to exist. The prosgress, possess the power to step between God and our fellow-creatures, and authorize them to disre-gard His command and to commit crimes at which all the feelings of our nature revolt. Such teachings may have been received as orthodox in the minth, but they will be rejected in the nineteenth

of freedom the master interpose, and he has no other possible way of escape than to slay his mas-sir, our people will continue to feed the hun-gry, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick, and to relieve the oppressed; and no interference of this fugitive law will prevent this compliance with the with which God has endowed him, and to comdictates of our religion, with that law which came sign his offspring in all coming time to degrading from God himself, and which no enactment of servitude. Our people so advise the fugitives: and the fugitives are generally armed, and prepared to receive their pursuers; and I am informed that one of them, when hard pressed recently, shot one of those human bloodhounds dead, and wounded another, and then went on his way. Sir, we al

Some months since, there were said to be fifteen housand fugitives from labor within the free States, including men, women, and children many of them were born and educated among us These men with their wives and their little ones were in the enjoyment of domestic life. Most of them had acquired or were in the way of obtaining sufficient real and personal property to insure them the necessaries, and even many of the luxuries, of life. They were educating their chil-

Christian deportment.

Against these inoffensive people, the Precident and Congress have waged a barbarous and unrelenting war. We have required our officers and the freemen of the North, when called on, to seize them; to drag them from their firesides, their not to say that for its barbarity that law is unthere a reflecting man who will pretend that this barbarous enactment imposes upon those people dealer rivet the chains upon the father, tear the mother from her children, and doom her to a life

that these outrages should and ought to continue; that he regards this law as a final settlement of the slave question; and that it is wrong further to agitate the subject. Vain advice. Agitation will never cease until the law ceases. such crimes are authorized by statute, the American people will not keep silence.

The President, referring to the bill surrendering to Texas and to slavery fifty thousand

square miles of free territory, and paying her ten millions of dollars, and that allowing slavery to be extended over New Mexico and Utah, and to this Fugitive Law, says: "I believed those measures to have been necessary, and required by the circumstances and condition of the country? I rejoice, Mr. Chairman, that he has boldly this worse than barbarous law sends the officers of Government to chase him down—to carry him back to chains and suffering. The People are constrained to become his pursuers. Famishing and fainting, he drags his weary limbs forward, while the whole power of the Government under the President's command, the army and navy, and all the freemen of the land, are on his track, to drag him back to bondage, under this law. And this law, the President was not believed that he was in heart and conscience opposed to this bill. Almost every Whig press in the North said plainly that the President did not favor this bill, but that he was coerced—that he signed it by compulsion. That it was the Whig doctrine concerning the veto that compelled him to sign it. The President's views are now before the country, and he avows his position manfully.

> timing this law; he not only places himself there, or fall by this law. I rejoice at it sink or swim, live or die, stand or fall, with this enactment. We now know where to find the suporters of slavery and the advocates of freedon Every man throughout the whole country, at the North and South, may now take his position, knowingly, with a full knowledge of the character of the party with whom he acts. Those that support this law must consent to obey it and to enforce it, to the letter. There is no lingering doubt, no diffic obscurity, resting on the party who supports this Administration. All the Whigs throughout the country, (and I speak it with some degree of feel-

ing, for I once had the pleasure of acting with them, when they had principles; then we avowed and acted upon the doctrines I have stated to-day) - all the Whigs throughout the country must now feel that their unity is gone. They see that the party has departed from its doctrines and principles, and has descended, step by step, from ts former position, until the remnant has literal ly become a slave catching party.

The President informs us that these measures "were adopted in a spirit of conciliation, and for the purpose of conciliation." "I believe," says he, "that a great majority of our fellow-citizens sympathize in that spirit and that purpose, and

sympatrize in that spirit and that purpose, and in the main approve it." Sir, where does the President find this evidence of approval in the popular mind? Does he draw his conclusions from the result of the elections in Delaware, New Jersey, or Ohio 7

That third State of the Union has separated itself forever from all men and all parties would involve our people in the support of slavery, or degrade them by sustaining your Fugitive Law. Does the President find consolation in the voice of the "Peninsular State," as lately expressed through the ballot box? Or can be take pleasure in referring to the election in Wisconsider of the president of the support of support of the support of su sin, or when he examines the result of those measures in his own State? Or has the demon-

strations in Massachusetts inspired him with confidence that the popular mind is in favor of Methinks that as he looks over the newly made graves of his political friends, and counts their number, and reflects upon that political cholera which has cut down so many of his supporters which has cut down so many of his supporters and advocates of this law, he might have doubted its popularity. Many gentlemen in this Hall, who so boidly stood forth in the pride of their political manhood a few months since, and voted for these measures, are now doomed to a speedy departure, and the places that now know them, shall know them (politically) no more. To those gentlemen the language of the President can bring but poor consolation.

The public meetings of the people of all parties throughout the free States, the spirited resolu-

throughout the free States, the spirited resolu-tions which they have sent forth, are but feeble manifestations of the popular mind. Throughout the North, where free schools have been encourmanifestations of the popular mind. Throughout the North, where free schools have been encouraged, and education has become general, where newspapers circulate and intelligence is disseminated, there public sentiment is loud in condemnation of this law. This feeling is increasing and extending, and rolling forward and gaining strenth and impetus, and will continue to do so until that law shall be repealed and numbered

among the things that were.

Sir, if the President will look at the statute lately enacted by the Whigs of Vermont, he will be able clearly to read the "handwriting upon the wall." The people have weighed this law in the balance, and it is found wanting.

Near the close of his Message, the President "I cannot doubt that the American people bound together by kindred blood and common traditions, still cherish a paramount regard for the Union of their fathers; and that they are

ready to rebuke any attempt to violate its integ-rity, to disturb the compromises on which it is based, or to resist the laws which have been enactformation, and the difficulties and dangers which

holding Texas, assuming her war, and carrying devastation, rapine, and bloodshed, to the heart of Mexico, in order to extend slavery. And, to cap the climax, you have passed this fugitive law and made the citizens of Ohio and of all the free States the catchpolls to Texan slave-hunters.

It is not to be disguised that the people of the free States feel less attachment to Texas than they did to the old thirteen States. We are not bound to them by common traditions. The Mexicans and Spaniards and other foreigners of that State shared not in the toils nor the dangers of to my habitation, warm him by my fire—if I feed him, and give him drink, and restore him, so that the pursues his journey and escapes, I am subjected, under, this law, to a fine of one thousand dollars and to six months' imprisonment. This law the President approves, and advises us to cominue in force. This practice he sustains, and asks us to uphold. I reply, in his own language: "Every citizen who truly loves the Constitution will resolutely if he can; that if while making his way to a land